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By- Upham, W. Kennedy; Wright, David E.

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An analysis of 1960 census data for persons with Spanish surnames in Texas reveals a significantly high rate of poverty when compared with other ethnic groups and national averages. An analysis by county shows greater economic disadvantagement in the southern part of the state where the concentration of Mexican Americans is higher. Rural Mexican American families are poorer than those in urban areas. Mexican Americans in Texas have a lower level of educational attainment and greater family size than both Anglo Americans and non-white groups. The relation between poverty and education indicates that no real progress can be made in raising economic levels unless educational levels are raised. (JH)

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Low-Income Families in a Minority Group

W. Kenneth Upham, '67

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H. O. Kunkel, Acting Director, College Station, Texas

POVERTY AMONG SPANISH AMERICANS IN TEXAS:

Low-Income Families in a Minority Group

W. Kennedy Upham

David E. Wright

Departmental Information Report 66-2

Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology

Texas A&M University
Texas Agricultural Experiment Station

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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College Station, Texas September, 1966

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POVERTY AMONG SPANISH AMERICANS IN TEXAS: Low-Income Families in a Minority Group[1]

W. Kennedy Upham and David E. Wright[2]

Introduction

The problem of poverty is one that currently is receiving much attention in our society. Since the enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the people of the United States have been made increasingly aware of the plight of millions of their fellow citizens who experience economic, physical, and social deprivation. In an attempt to alleviate this deprivation, both governmental and private agencies are expending many millions of dollars. It can be anticipated that the attention already focused on the "poverty problem" will generate even greater efforts in the future--not only through programs presently in operation, but in new and as yet unconceived approaches to undermine root causes of poverty.

In this "war on poverty," and in all economic development planning, there is a need for information on the economic and

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[1]This report was made possible by support of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station as a contribution to TAES Research Project H-2611 and to Southern Regional Project S-61, "Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South" (USDA, Cooperative State Research Service).

[2]Respectively, Assistant Professor of Sociology and Technical Assistant II, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology. The authors are indebted to Harold M. Clements, Jr., who made many of the computations upon which this study is based.

social characteristics of the poor. The Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology has undertaken the task of making available the massive data from the United States Census of Population of 1960 in a form useful to local citizens and committees involved in public and private planning. The first report in this series was published in 1965, presenting an analysis of the extent to which low-income families were present in each county.[3] The present report is a follow-up to that study, singling out the minority population of Spanish Americans, (or Mexican Americans, as they are generally called in Texas), since poverty, as defined in this study, is widespread among the families of this group. The purpose of this report is to provide basic, factual information about the extent of poverty among this particular ethnic group in Texas, and to present a minimal amount of interpretive text in order to make it intelligible.

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[3]William P. Kuvlesky and David E. Wright, Poverty in Texas: The Distribution of Low-Income Families (Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Departmental Information Report, No. 65-4; College Station: Texas A&M University, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, October, 1965).

The Concept of Poverty

Perhaps the shortest definition of poverty that has been given is "not having enough income." But to define poverty in such ambiguous terms is to make it impossible to describe or to study its attributes. Not enough income for what? How much income is enough? Certainly, in terms of both its definition and effects, poverty is a relative state, relative to the standards of living--housing, food, medical care, income--that prevail at a given time in a given place. Poverty simply means to be poor by the standards of living that prevail in a society at a particular time.

What is poverty? The meaning of poverty is in the consequences and costs of being poor. One can look at this from two different points of view--the consequences experienced by individuals living in poverty and the costs to society of harboring poverty. First, consider the consequences for individuals and families. Certainly to be poor is to be deprived of the simple comforts of life that most of us take for granted. But the consequences of poverty are more serious than this. To be poor is to suffer physically--to lack adequate housing, proper and sufficient food and clothing, and necessary medical attention.[4] Serious illnesses of every nature, mental and

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[4]For more information on these aspects of poverty see respectively: Leon H. Keyserling, Progress or Poverty: The U.S. at the Crossroads (Washington: Conference on Economic Progress, December, 1964), pp. 10-13; and "Poverty Remains a Bitter Reality," from Economic Report of the President, 1964 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 55-57.

physical, are more prevalent among the poor.[5] Mortality rates of the poor are higher than for the rest of the population and life expectancy shorter.[6] In addition, there are the psychological effects of poverty that need to be considered: the stifled ambitions and hopes, the fatalistic outlook on life, the feeling of deprivation and social inferiority.[7] The social stigma associated with being poor often leads to ecological and social segregation and the automatic filling of a subordinate role in contacts with others in the community.

Also, society is detrimentally affected by the existence of poverty in several ways. Because the poor are often unemployed and have little income, they have little money to spend. Economists

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[5]Statistics on illnesses and the poor are presented in respectively, Dwight McDonald, "Physical and Mental Illness and the Medical Care of the Poor," from Our Invisible Poor (New York: Sidney Hillman Foundation, 1963), pp. 11-18; A. B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlick, Social Class and Mental Illness (New York: Wiley, 1958); and Leon H. Keyserling, op. cit., pp. 66-70.

[6]For discussions and data on mortality rates see Jacob Luckman, William F. Youngman, and Garry B. Dreigman, "Occupational Level and Mortality," Social Forces, 43 (May, 1965), pp. 575-577, and L. Guralnick, The Study of Mortality by Occupation in the United States (Washington: National Office of Vital Statistics, September, 1959).

[7]For evidence of this in Texas and the Southern Region see respectively, Bardin H. Nelson and Samuel M. Whitson, "Factors Influencing Socio-Economic Adjustments of Farmers in Low-Income Areas," The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, 43 (March, 1963), pp. 347-352, and John E. Dunkelberger, "Intensity of Job Mobility Aspiration Among Household Heads In Low-Income Areas of the Rural South" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Mississippi State University).

argue that the potential gross national product suffers as a result.[8] In addition, the support of the poor places a heavy drain on our tax-income, while they contribute little to it.[9] The poor are also a source of instability in society as evidenced by their high crime rates and participation in socio-political organizations and movements that often foster public violence.[10] At the community level, there is a tendency for extreme economic deprivation to induce feelings of apathy that in turn lead to political and civic inaction and a heavy out-migration of young adults--conditions that lead to further economic deterioration of the community.[11] Perhaps most important is the waste of human potential experienced as a result of the inability of society to adequately utilize for its benefit the human resources available among the poor. Of particular significance

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[8]More detailed information on the relationship between gross national product and the poor is in Leon H. Keyserling, op. cit., pp. 87-98; see also John Kenneth Galbraith, The Affluent Society (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), pp. 150-152.

[9]See Walter Reuther, "The Rich Get Richer," from statement of Walter Reuther, Hearings on the Economic Act of 1964, Subcommittee on the War on Poverty, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 88th Congress, 2nd Session, April 9, 1964, pp. 437-438; and also, Leon H. Keyserling, op. cit., pp. 87-98.

[10]For a review of pertinent literature see Egon Bittner, "Radicalism and the Organization of Radical Movements," American Sociological Review, 28 (December, 1963), pp. 928-940. Also see Seymour Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1960), and James F. Short, et. al., "Opportunities, Gang Membership, and Delinquency," American Sociological Review, 30 (February, 1965), pp. 56-67.

[11]James H. Copp, "The People In Stable and Declining Town-Country Communities," Paper read at the Northeast Conference on the Rural Non-Farm Population, Gettysburg, Penn., June, 1961.

is the tendency for family poverty to perpetuate itself through producing new generations of poverty-prone individuals in many cases.

The Study Data and Definitions

This study is concerned with the poor among that segment of the Texas population which is variously referred to as Latin American, Mexican American and Spanish American. The data utilized come from the United States census of population, and the figures cited refer to "white persons of Spanish surname."[12] The special volume of the Spanish-surname population and the standard census report for Texas constitute the primary sources for this study.[13]

What constitutes the condition of being poor in our society today had been defined in many ways. However, one current indicator

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[12]Although in everyday experience it may seem relatively easy to identify the "Spanish Americans" in a community, it is not easy to do so with the accuracy demanded by a modern census. Therefore, after carefully considering alternative ways of systematically identifying this minority group, the Census Bureau decided to use Spanish family names as the single criterion for selecting those persons and families to be included in the special tabulation of characteristics of the Spanish-American population. Accordingly, a master list of Spanish surnames was prepared and the names of persons counted by the census were laboriously matched against the list. All white persons who were thus identified as having Spanish surnames were then included in a separate tabulation for white persons of Spanish surname. They were, of course, also included in the regular tabulation of the state and locality where they were residents. (This procedure was done, and data tabulated only for the five southwestern states expected to have the largest numbers of Spanish-American residents: Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and California.) Information about the Census Bureau evaluation of this procedure can be found in the special subject report on Persons of Spanish Surname, pages VIII-XI.

[13]U.S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC (2)-1B (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963); and U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Part 45 - Texas (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962).

of poverty in our country is an annual family income of less than $3000.[14] It is a standard commonly used by the Bureau of the Census, the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and other agencies to differentiate the poor from those who are not poor in our population.[15] This is the indicator we have selected to use. A Spanish-surname family having an income of less than $3000 a year is considered a low-income family and the number or proportion of all Spanish-surname families living an a geographic unit that are low-income families for that unit.[16]

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[14]The definition of family and family income used in the U. S. Census of Population in 1960 are as follows: "A family consists of two or more persons living in the same household who are related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption..." and "...Family income is the combined incomes of all members of each family treated as a single amount..." For further details see "Introduction," U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Part 1 --United States Summary (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1964).

[15]For example, see Alan R. Bird, Poverty in Rural Areas of the United States (Agricultural Economic Report No. 63; Washington: Economic Research Service, USDA, November, 1964) and Frank G. Mittlebach and Grace Marshall, The Burden of Poverty ("Mexican-American Study Project," Advance Report 5; Los Angeles: University of California, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, 1966). For a good discussion of commonly used indicators of poverty, see Leon H. Keyserling, op. cit., pp. 15-17.

[16]This definition has several important limitations. One is that it over-looks a portion of the population--those individuals not attached to families. Perhaps of more importance, the meaning of a certain level of income, in terms of level of living, varies depending on the size of the family, local living costs, and consumption patterns. However, a recent study of 20 cities conducted by the United States Department of Labor found that on the average a "modest but adequate income--ranged from $6216-$9607 for a family of six or more to $3893-$4270 for a family of two." This gives evidence to indicate that the $3000 poverty standard can be considered a conservative indicator. (Foot note continued on next page).

It should be emphasized that the source of data utilized in this report is the 1960 U. S. Census, and reported incomes are for the calendar year 1959. Although changes have probably taken place since this information was collected, it is the best data available. The authors assume that, in a relative sense, conditions have remained approximately the same.

The Extent of Poverty among Spanish Americans

Texas and the Southwest

In 1960, there were approximately 700,000 white families with Spanish surnames in the five states for which Census data are available. Of these families, about 35 percent (242,903 families) had annual incomes below $3000; this proportion living in poverty is significantly higher than the national family poverty rate of 21.4 percent of all families. Well over half of these low-income Spanish-surname families were living in Texas in 1960, although only about one-third of the total Spanish-surname families were residing in Texas (Table 1).

In addition, Texas had a much higher rate of poverty among Spanish-surname families than the five states as a whole. Slightly

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(Footnote 16 continued).
A more refined index, taking into account the size of the family, the number of earners and the place of residence has been developed by the Social Security Administration, but it cannot be applied now to 1960 census data, and it will be necessary to wait until 1970 for more exact information. See Mollie Orshansky, "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile," Social Security Bulletin, 28 (January, 1965), pp. 3-29.

Table 1. Number and Proportion of Total, Urban, Rural Nonfarm, and Rural Farm Families of Spanish-Surname Having Incomes of Less than $3000 in Five Southwestern States, 1959.

Residence and State	Spanish-Surname Families		
	Total Families	Low Income Families	
	Number	Number	Percent of Total
All Families			
Five S. W. States	698,027	242,903	34.8
Texas	270,438	139,663	51.6
Arizona	36,694	11,312	30.8
California	304,830	58,256	19.1
Colorado	31,765	11,117	35.0
New Mexico	54,300	22,555	41.5
Urban Families			
Five S. W. States	567,262	174,651	30.8
Texas	216,932	102,642	47.3
Arizona	28,847	8,225	28.5
California	267,134	46,868	17.5
Colorado	22,184	6,280	28.3
New Mexico	32,165	10,636	33.1
Rural Nonfarm Families			
Five S. W. States	100,048	50,218	50.2
Texas	37,834	25,233	66.7
Arizona	6,657	2,440	36.6
California	28,502	8,496	29.8
Colorado	7,777	3,783	48.6
New Mexico	19,278	10,266	53.2
Rural Farm Families			
Five S. W. States	30,717	18,034	58.7
Texas	15,672	11,788	75.2
Arizona	1,190	647	54.4
California	9,194	2,892	31.4
Colorado	1,804	1,054	58.4
New Mexico	2,857	1,653	57.8

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish-Surname. Final Report PC(2) - 1B, Table 5.

more than 50 percent of the Spanish-surname families in Texas had annual incomes below $3000.

The incidence of poverty among Spanish-surname families in Texas follows the regional pattern of increasing levels of poverty as one moves from urban to rural nonfarm and finally to rural farm residence zones. Comparing the southwestern states, Texas had the highest rate of Spanish-surname family poverty in each residential category.

The Spanish-American Poor in Texas

In 1960, Texas had 270,438 white families with Spanish surnames. These constituted 11.3 percent of the state's families and 14.8 percent of its population--the discrepancy being due to the larger average size of Spanish-surname families (4.6 persons per family) when compared to the state as a whole (3.3 persons per family). Of these family units bearing Spanish names, 139,663 had annual family incomes below $3000--nearly 52 percent of them, as indicated in Table 1.

Moreover, these 139,663 Spanish-surname families with low incomes represent one-fifth (20.3 percent) of all low-income families in the state, far more than the 11 percent of families with Spanish names. Clearly the Spanish-American poor in Texas are a considerable part of the total poverty group, and any effort to improve the lower income levels in the state will have to make serious advances among this Latin group.

The Distribution of Poverty Among Spanish Americans in Texas

Regions of Poverty

The magnitude of Spanish-American family poverty varies importantly from one region to another in Texas. The purpose of this section of the report is to describe the patterns of the varying magnitudes of poverty that existed in the state in 1960. The county is selected as the basic unit because of the availability of data and because the county is recognized as a significant political and social entity.[17]

The incidence of poverty among Spanish-Americans varies considerably by county units, ranging from a low of 18 percent in Jefferson County to a high of 83 percent in Dimmit County. A rank order listing of Texas counties giving the proportion of Spanish-surname family poverty is included in Appendix A.

We have established four qualitative classes of poverty for analytical purposes. A summary of data on the population included in each of these categories is presented in Table 2. The limits of

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[17]Before proceeding with the analysis of these differences, it should be emphasized that census data on persons of Spanish surname are available at the county level for only 67 Texas counties. However, 93 percent (250,528 families) of the state's Spanish-surname families resided in these 67 counties in 1960. Therefore, the analysis of the county data represents the overwhelming majority of the Texas Spanish-surname population. Furthermore, 92 percent (128,398 families) of the state's poor Spanish-surname families resided in the 67 counties under consideration. These 67 counties also accounted for 71 percent of the total state population in 1960.

the qualitative classes are based on variations from the average level of poverty for the entire state population. The moderate category represents poverty levels approximating the state average (28.8 percent of all families).

Table 2. The Distribution of Counties* by Levels of Poverty Among Spanish-Surname Families, and Proportions of All Families and Spanish-Surname Families Living in Counties of Each Level, 1959.

Levels of Poverty Among Spanish-Surname Families	67 Counties*		Families in 67 Counties	
			Total	Spanish-Surname
	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Extremely High				
80 percent or over	8	12	1.5	3.2
65-79 percent	21	31	9.0	26.9
High				
50-64 percent	18	27	9.7	19.7
35-49 percent	11	16	26.2	36.7
Moderate				
20-34 percent	8	12	49.9	12.9
Low				
Under 20 percent	1	2	3.7	0.6
TOTAL	67	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Part 45 - Texas, Table 86; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 14.

*The 67 Texas counties with 2,500 or more persons of Spanish surname in 1960.

It can be observed that a large number of counties were experiencing extreme rates of poverty among persons of Spanish surname. In 70 percent of the counties for which census data on Spanish-

surname families are available, one-half or more of the Spanish-surname families were poor. And in approximately five-sixths of the counties at least one-third of the Spanish-surname families were poor. In other words, 86 percent of the counties under consideration had Spanish-surname family poverty rates that were greater than the poverty rate for the nation as a whole (21.4 percent). Only one county, Jefferson, had a level of Spanish-surname poverty lower than the poverty rate for the nation as a whole.

The 58 counties having "extremely high" or "high" levels of Spanish-surname poverty held only 46 percent of the total population in the 67 counties being analyzed. However, 87 percent of the Spanish-surname families resided in these counties having extremely high or high levels of Spanish-surname poverty. Jefferson County, the only county which had a low level of Spanish-surname poverty, accounted for less than 1 percent of the families with Spanish surnames, and Spanish-surname families were only 2.4 percent of all families in that county in 1960.

The accompanying map, Figure 1, shows the distribution of levels of Spanish-American family poverty on a county basis using the qualitative classes of county poverty levels described above.[18] Although

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[18]The reader will remember that data are available for only 67 counties. These are located mostly in the southern and western portions of the state since the majority of the state's Spanish-surname population is found in these areas of Texas.

the proportions of poverty vary greatly from county to county, certain broad patterns can be observed. The map provides a visual indication that nearly all of the counties studied have high or extremely high rates of Spanish-surname poverty.

It can also be observed that the counties having extreme levels of Spanish-surname poverty are confined almost entirely to the South Texas Plains. More specifically, this area of extreme Spanish-surname poverty extends from Maverick County on the Rio Grande northeasterly to Medina County, southeasterly from Medina to Refugio County, and then south along the coast to Cameron County where it again joins the Rio Grande.[19] The region described above consists of 19 counties, which held one-fourth of the state's Spanish-surname families and over one-third of the poor Spanish-surname families in Texas in 1960.

Another area having extreme Spanish-surname poverty is composed of Hays, Caldwell, Gonzales, De Witt and Karnes Counties which are east of San Antonio. However, these five counties combined accounted for only 2 percent of the Spanish-surname population in Texas and only 3 percent of the poor Spanish-surname families in 1960.

Of special interest are the counties having moderate levels of Spanish-surname poverty. For the most part these counties include large metropolitan areas having in excess of 50,000 people. The

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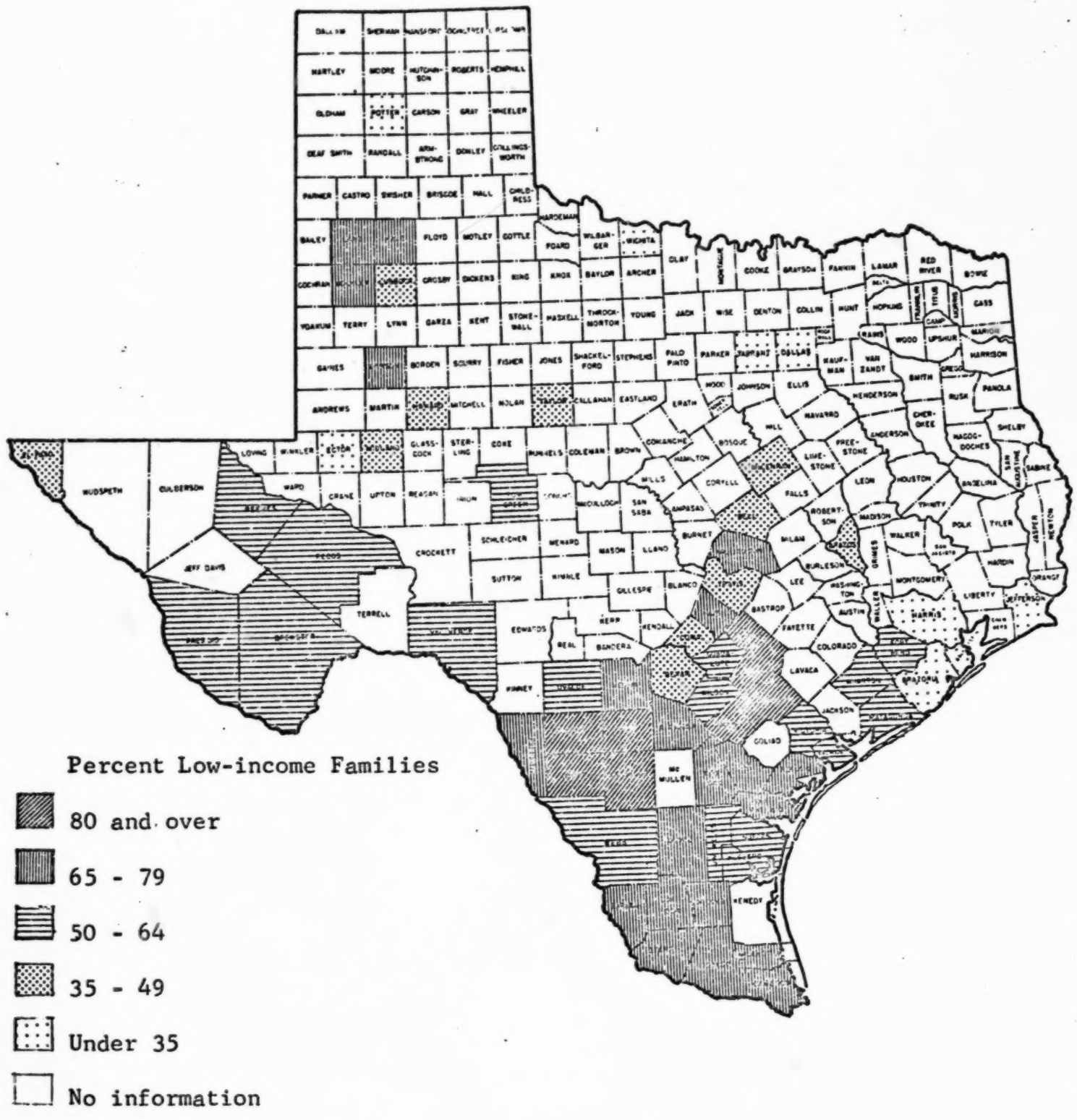
[19]The area having extremely high Spanish-surname poverty does not include Webb, Jim Wells, Nueces and Kleberg Counties because they had only "high" levels of Spanish-surname poverty rather than the extreme levels. Also not included are McMullen and Kenedy Counties for which no information on income was available.

Figure 1. White Spanish Surname Families Having Less than $3000 Annual Income by County, 1959.



seven counties including the cities of Amarillo, Odessa, Wichita Falls, Fort Worth, Dallas, Houston, and Galveston had moderate levels of Spanish-surname poverty. So, also, did Brazoria County, which lies adjacent to Houston and Galveston, and which has been made a part of the Houston SMSA since 1960, These counties taken together accounted for 12 percent of the state's Spanish-surname families, but only 6.5 percent of the poor Spanish-surname families. Jefferson County, also a metropolitan county, was the only unit with a low poverty level for Spanish Americans.

In summary, it may be observed that most of the counties having extreme levels of Spanish-surname poverty are in South Texas. Furthermore, the most severe poverty levels for Spanish-surname families exist in the southern portion of the state. The ameliorating effect of large urban centers is indicated by the observation that the counties having moderate or low rates of Spanish-surname poverty all involve large metropolitan areas.

Rural-Urban Distribution of Poverty

A large majority of the Spanish-American families in Texas resides in urban places (80.2 percent in 1960), so it is to be expected that most Spanish-surname families with low incomes are also urban. This expectation is borne out in fact, though the incidence of poverty in cities is not proportionate to the number of families. According to the data in Table 3, the 102,642 low-income Spanish-surname families in ciites were only 73 percent of the poor Mexican-Americans. On the other hand, there were 37,021 families living in

rural areas who had incomes less than $3000, and who constituted 27 percent of the Spanish-surname poor--though only 20 percent of the state's Spanish-American families were rural.

Table 3. Number and Proportion of All families with Spanish Surname in Texas and Those with Incomes under $3000, by Residence, 1959.

	Total Spanish-Surname Families		Spanish-Surname Families with Incomes Under $3000	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Texas	270,438	100.0	139,663	100.0
Urban	216,932	80.2	102,642	73.5
Rural	53,506	19.8	37,021	26.5
Nonfarm	37,834	14.0	25,233	18.1
Farm	15,672	5.8	11,788	8.4

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 5.

That poverty is a more pressing problem for rural Spanish-surname families than for urban Spanish-surname families is indicated also by the rates of poverty among families in the respective residential zones. At the state level, 52 percent of all Spanish-American families were classified as having low incomes, while only 47 percent of the urban Mexican-American families were similarly classified (Table 4). But, among rural nonfarm and rural farm families with Spanish surnames, the poverty rates were 67 and 75 percent, respectively.

Table 4. Number and Proportion of All Spanish-Surname Families and of Urban, Rural Nonfarm, and Rural Farm Families with Spanish Surname Having Incomes of Less than $3000 for Texas, 1959.

	Spanish-Surname Families			
	Total Families		Low-Income Families	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Texas	270,438	100.0	139,663	51.6
Urban	216,932	100.0	102,642	47.3
Rural Nonfarm	37,834	100.0	25,233	66.7
Rural Farm	15,672	100.0	11,788	75.2

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 5.

Thus it would appear that any hope to eliminate or greatly lessen the incidence of poverty in Texas will need to make a major thrust among rural Mexican Americans. Though their numbers are not so very impressive and though they are rather widely dispersed across the state, they constitute a distinctly disadvantaged group which cannot help but be a handicap to the state both economically and socially as long as the present situation exists.

In order to include in this report as much local information as possible, a table has been compiled of the urban places in Texas for which Spanish-surname family income data are available, i.e., those that had 2,500 or more persons of Spanish surname in 1960. Appendix B displays the total number of Spanish-surname families and the number and proportion of Spanish-surname families living in poverty and extreme poverty for these urban places. Such information should be helpful to individuals or groups interested in human and economic development in these cities.

It can be generally observed that the urban places and the counties in which they are located had approximately the same levels of Spanish-surname poverty. Furthermore, of the urban places listed, all except Port Arthur had Spanish-surname poverty rates that exceeded the total urban poverty rate for Texas (23.8 percent). For Mexican Americans, all of the Texas urban places exceeded the national urban family poverty rate (16.4 percent). Nearly all urban places that had a level of Spanish-surname poverty greater than the state level (51.6 percent) were in the southern portion of Texas. The 40 urban places for which data were available represented 65 percent of the state's Spanish-surname population but accounted for only about 57 percent of the poor Spanish-surname families in Texas

Metropolitan-Nonmetropolitan Differences

It has been shown that rural nonfarm and rural farm families with Spanish surnames experienced more severe rates of poverty than urban Spanish-surname families. The general difference in poverty levels associated with rurality of residence is further demonstrated by a comparison of family income distributions among Spanish-surname populations living in (1) metropolitan counties and (2) nonmetropolitan counties that are partly rural and partly urban in character.

In 1960, Texas had 19 metropolitan counties--i.e., counties which constituted all or part of a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

(SMSA)--for which Spanish-surname family income data are available.[20] Analysis of Table 5 indicates that the nonmetropolitan counties have a higher proportion of Spanish-surname poverty than the metropolitan counties. Information on Spanish-surname families in each of these metropolitan areas should facilitate the development of action programs for the metropolitan counties. The information for the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas is given in Appendix C. It is important to note that only three of these large metropolitan areas exceeded the state's level of Spanish-surname poverty (51.6 percent).

Table 5. A comparison of Poverty Among White Families of Spanish Surname in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Counties, 1959.

Type of County	Income Levels			
	Under $2000	$2000 $2999	Under $3000	$3000 and over
	--------Percent of Families--------			
Metropolitan Counties	23.0	17.2	40.2	59.8
Nonmetropolitan Counties	46.3	21.6	67.9	32.1

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 14.

[20] A Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area is a county or group of contiguous counties which contains at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants, or twin cities with a combined population of at least 50,000. Several counties may be included in an SMSA if they are essentially "metropolitan" in character and are both socially and economically closely tied to the central city.

Other Aspects of Poverty Among Spanish Americans

Although the available data on the Spanish-surname population are quite limited--especially in cross-tabulation with income--even limited information on other correlates of poverty ought to be made accessible to those who are interested in poverty among our Spanish-American population. In this section such data as could be derived from the 1960 census report on levels of education, unemployment and size of family are presented for the persons or families of Spanish surname in Texas.

Education

One of the most important factors in determining who will be poor is education. And a great many public agencies believe that one of the best wasy to combat poverty is by raising the level of education among poor persons.

State-wide, the median years of school completed by persons 25 years of age and over was lower for Spanish Americans than for either Anglo-white or nonwhite persons--6.1 years for the Spanish-surnamed as compared to 11.5 and 8.1 years for Anglo-white and nonwhite persons respectively.[21] The distribution of counties by the median amount of education attained by Spanish Americans and the proportion of low-income Spanish-surname families is shown in Table 6. As can

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[21]See Harley L. Browning, and S. Dale McLemore, A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-surname Population of Texas (Austin: University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1964), pp. 29-31.

be observed, for lower levels of educational attainment, a greater proportion of Spanish-American families were living in poverty. Conversely, at higher levels of educational achievement, relatively fewer Spanish-American families had incomes below $3000.

Table 6. The Distribution of Texas Counties* by Median School Years Completed by Persons of Spanish Surname 25 Years of Age and Over Showing Total Number of Spanish-Surname Families and Number and Proportion of Low-Income Spanish-Surname Families in Counties at Each Level of Education.

Counties Classified by Average Education (Median School Years Completed)	Number of Counties in Each Class	Spanish-Surname Families		
		Total Families	Families with Incomes Under $3000	
	Number	Number	Number	Percent
6.0 and over	9	59,552	18,453	31.0
4.5 - 5.9	11	86,565	40,692	47.0
3.5 - 4.4	18	44,622	27,566	61.8
2.5 - 3.4	18	46,046	31,087	67.5
Under 2.5	11	13,743	10,600	77.1

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 14.

*The 67 counties with 2,500 or more persons of Spanish surname in 1960.

Unemployment

Closely related to the amount of education a person has is the amount of unemployment he is likely to experience. Although there is not a one-to-one relation between education and unemployment, unemployment is most prevalent among persons with relatively little education.[22] Clearly, the greater the amount of unemployment a person

[22] U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Converging Social Trends; Emerging Social Problems (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 31-35.

experiences, the more adversely will his income be affected and his chances of living in poverty be increased.

Because Spanish Americans in Texas have a relatively low level of educational attainment, one would logically expect them to have abnormally high rates of unemployment. This expectation is correct, as indicated by a comparison of unemployment rates for males 14 years of age and over for Spanish-Americans and Anglo-white persons; these rates, in 1960, were 8.2 percent for the Mexican Americans, but only 3.3 percent for Anglo-white persons.[23]

Family Size

Earlier in this report, it was indicated that the $3000 family poverty indicator has several shortcomings, one of the most important being that it ignores family size. Spanish Americans generally tend to have larger families than other ethnic groups. In Texas, median family size for Mexican Americans was 4.6 persons as compared to 3.4 persons for nonwhite families ond only 3.2 persons for Anglo-white families.[24] Therefore, the consequences suffered as a result of poverty are, in most cases, more severe for Spanish-surname families than for nonwhite and Anglo-white families

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[23]Computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Volume 1, Part 45 - Texas, Table 53; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 6.

[24]Computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Volume 1, Part 45 - Texas, Table 110; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2) - 1B, Table 5.

Extreme Poverty Among Spanish-Surname Families

This section of the report concerns itself with Spanish-American families experiencing severe economic deprivation, a condition commonly indicated by an annual family income below $2000. The $2000 poverty indicator is not used in any other section of this publication, and the discussion of poverty at the $2000 level should not be confused with that at the $3000 level. Because many public and private programs involved in the "war on poverty" use a $2000 family income indicator, information on the numbers and locations of Spanish-surname families at this income level will facilitate planning and allocation of funds in Texas.

Analysis reveals that a great number of Spanish-surname families in Texas had incomes below $2000 and were therefore living in extreme poverty. Although the Census Bureau published no data for the Spanish-American families at the $2000 income level for the state as a whole, such data could be computed for urban places, SMSA's and Texas counties enumerating 2,500 or more persons of Spanish surname. This information for urban places and SMSA's is provided in Appendix B and Appendix C, respectively. The proportions of Spanish-surname and all other families with incomes below $2000 are listed for the 67 Texas counties in Appendix D.

In 1960, of all the poor Spanish-surname families in the 67 counties, 63 percent (80,901 families) had incomes below $2000. If this same 80,901 families with less than $2000 income is used to represent the total of all Spanish-surname families with incomes

this low (disregarding those living outside of the 67 counties), then at least 57.9 percent of the poor Spanish-surname families in Texas were experiencing extreme poverty conditions. In other words, at least 29.9 percent of all Spanish-surname families in Texas had annual incomes below $2000, as compared to only 15.4 percent of the state's total white population.

A Comparison of Poverty Among the Major Ethnic Groups in Texas

The objective of this section is to determine the significance of poverty among Spanish-surname families in comparison with the rest of the state population. In order to do so, the Texas population has been divided into three subgroups: (1) Anglo-white persons; (2) white persons of Spanish surname; and (3) nonwhite persons. The relative importance of poverty in each ethnic group can be seen by comparing the proportional incidence of poverty in each. This method emphasizes the relative magnitude of the poverty problem within each segment of the population. Consideration of this dimension provides a more meaningful understanding of the nature of the Spanish-surname poverty problem.

The term "Anglo-white" is used here to denote the majority group in Texas--majority in terms of population, wealth, and power. Anglo-whites are those persons who are not nonwhite and who are not white persons of Spanish surname. Persons of Spanish surname have been previously defined in this report (page 6) and the same definition applies here. The group designated as nonwhite consists of Negroes, American

Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and others; in Texas, Negroes constitute 98.5 percent of the nonwhite population.

State-wide Ethnic Comparisons

Basic information about the ethnic composition of Texas' population is given for both individual persons and families in Table 7. White persons with Spanish surnames in Texas numbered 1,417,810 in 1960 and made up 14.8 percent of all persons in the state. Thus Spanish Americans were the largest minority group, followed closely by nonwhites (almost entirely Negroes). Since the Mexican-American families are larger, on the average, than either Anglo-white or Negro families, the proportion of families with Spanish surnames is lower than their corresponding share in the population as individuals.

Table 7. Ethnic Division of Texas' Population, 1960.

Ethnic Group	Persons		Families	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total Population	9,579,677	100.0	2,392,564	100.0
Anglo-white	6,957,021	72.6	1,857,293	77.6
White Spanish surname	1,417,810	14.8	270,438	11.3
Nonwhite	1,204,846	12.6	264,833	11.1

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Part 45 - Texas, Tables 14 and 65; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Tables 1 and 5.

The relative level of family poverty in each subgroup, by residential categories, is shown in Table 8. To simplify the comparison of the relative incidence of poverty for each population subgroup,

Table 8. Number and Proportion of Low-Income Families Among Anglo-White Persons, White Persons of Spanish Surname, and Nonwhite Persons, in Texas, by Residence, Showing Minority/Majority Poverty Ratio.

	Total Families	Families with Less than $3000 Income		Minority/Majority Ratio
		Number	Percent	
Texas				
Anglo-White	1,857,293	395,598	21.3	N.A.
White Spanish Surname	270,438	139,663	51.6	2.4
Nonwhite	264,833	152,704	57.7	2.7
Urban				
Anglo-White	1,371,056	218,703	16.0	N.A.
White Spanish Surname	216,932	102,642	47.3	3.0
Nonwhite	203,732	105,185	51.6	3.2
Rural Nonfarm				
Anglo-White	327,587	105,839	32.3	N.A.
White Spanish Surname	37,834	25,233	66.7	2.1
Nonwhite	48,689	37,303	76.6	2.4
Rural Farm				
Anglo-White	158,650	71,056	44.8	N.A.
White Spanish Surname	15,672	11,788	75.2	1.7
Nonwhite	12,412	10,216	82.3	1.8

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Volume 1, Part 45 - Texas, Tables 86 and 88; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 5.

we developed a measure we call the "minority/Anglo-white poverty level ratio." (For the sake of brevity this measure will be referred to as the "Minority/Majority Ratio" in the remainder of this report.) To obtain the minority/majority ratio the incidence of poverty (i.e., the percentage of poor families) was determined for each population group in each residential category. Next, the poverty rate of the Anglo-white persons was divided into the poverty rate of each minority

group and the answer obtained is what we have labeled the minority/majority ratio. A minority/majority ratio of 1.00 indicates that the proportional rate of poverty for the minority group being compared and the majority group of an area were exactly the same. A minority/majority ratio of less than 1.00 would indicate that the percentage of poverty among the majority families was higher than in the minority group; conversely, a minority/majority ratio greater than 1.00 indicates that the percentage of poverty among minority families is higher. The greater the variation from a minority/majority ratio of 1.00, in either direction, the further apart are the poverty rates of the minority and Anglo-white families.

In all residential categories, the two minority groups had substantially greater frequencies of poverty than the majority (Anglo-white) group (Table 8). State-wide, the incidence of poverty among both Spanish-surname and nonwhite families was approximately two and one-half times greater than for Anglo-white families. The poverty differentials were even further apart for urban families; the urban families of both minority groups were experiencing poverty rates three times as great as urban families of the majority group. Lower differentials of minority and majority poverty rates occurred in the rural areas, but there still existed a markedly greater incidence of poverty among rural minority families. All three ethnic groups had much higher family poverty rates in rural areas, with the farm families registering the greatest percentages of low incomes in each group.

Numerically, there are more than one-third as many Mexican-American poor families as there are poor Anglo-whites, although Spanish-surname families are only about one-seventh as numerous as Anglo-whites in the total population. In urban areas this type of comparison is most extreme, with Spanish Americans and nonwhites each counting nearly half as many poor families as Anglo-whites though each is only about one-seventh as numerous.

Ethnic Comparisons at the County Level

The comparison of the relative levels of poverty among persons of Spanish surname and the majority of the population was extended to the county level. Such information will be beneficial in planning community and county action programs.

There is a distinct difference in the method used in the preceding state comparison and in the method to be used in the county comparisons. At the state level, three population subgroups were compared; whereas, at the county level, only two groups are compared--(1) white persons of Spanish surname and (2) "all other" persons. "All other" persons, for this purpose, are defined as those persons not having Spanish surnames. Note that both nonwhites and Anglo-whites are included in the group described as "all other" persons.[25]

To simplify the interpretation of our findings in the counties for which data were available, we have developed another poverty ratio

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[25]The minority/majority ratio which compares the Spanish Americans with Anglo-white persons could not be used becuase data on the nonwhite populations were not available for all of the 67 counties studied.

measure which we call the "Spanish/All-other poverty level ratio" (hereafter referred to as the S/A ratio). The manner in which the S/A ratio is obtained is similar to that for the minority/majority ratio. First, the percentage of poor families was determined for both the Spanish-surname population and for all other persons of a county unit. Then the family poverty rate of all other persons is divided into the poverty rate of the Spanish-surname families and the answer obtained is the S/A ratio. A S/A ratio of 1.00 indicates that the proportional family poverty rates for Spanish-surname persons and for all other persons were exactly the same. A S/A ratio of less than 1.00 indicates a higher rate of poverty for all other families, and a S/A ratio greater than 1.00 indicates that the percentage of poverty among Spanish-Surname families is higher. A S/A ratio of 2.00 means that the percentage of poverty among Spanish Americans is twice that among all other families.

S/A ratios were calculated for the 67 Texas counties which had 2,500 or more persons of Spanish surname and these ratios are listed in Appendix A.[26] These county measures are summarized by levels of S/A ratios in Table 9. The findings clearly demonstrate that higher rates of poverty existed among Spanish-surname families than among all other families for nearly all of the counties studied. In fact, 66 of the 67 counties had a higher rate of poverty among Spanish-surname families. The only county having a Spanish-surname family

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[26] S/A extreme poverty ratios ($2000 income level) are presented for these counties in Appendix D.

poverty rate which was less than that of all other families was Jefferson County, and less than 1 percent of all Spanish-surname families in the 67 counties studied resided in Jefferson County.[27]

Table 9. The Distribution of Counties* by S/A Poverty Ratio Levels, and Proportions of All Families and Spanish-Surname Families Living in Counties of Each Level, 1959.

Spanish/All Others Poverty Ratio Levels	67 Counties*		Families in 67 counties	
			Total	Spanish-Surname
	Number	Percent	Percent	
3.0 or more	13	19	7.6	22.5
2.0 - 2.9	33	49	32.5	59.2
1.5 - 1.9	14	21	41.3	13.2
1.0 - 1.4	6	9	14.9	4.5
under 1.0	1	2	3.7	0.6
TOTAL	67	100	100.0	100.0

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Volume 1, Part 45 - Texas, Table 86; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 14.

*The 67 Texas counties with 2,500 or more persons of Spanish Surname.

In summary, the information given clearly indicates that poverty was more prevalent among persons of Spanish surname than among all other persons for virtually every Texas county for which data were available. On the basis of these findings, it would seem likely that Spanish-surname persons who resided in counties for which information was not available also tended to experience higher rates of family poverty than did other persons in these same counties.

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[27] However, the family poverty rate for Spanish-surname families in Jefferson was greater than that of Anglo-white families in the county as indicated by a minority/majority ratio of 1.42.

Figure 2 shows the distribution of levels of S/A ratios on a county basis using the poverty ratio levels described above. The patterns formed by the distribution of S/A ratios are similar to those observed in Figure 1. Most obvious is the observation that the counties which had the most severe rates of Spanish-surname poverty also had the most extreme differences between the poverty rates of Spanish-surname persons and all other persons. For example, Dimmit County had a Spanish-surname poverty level in excess of 80 percent (Figure 1), which was at least three times as great as the poverty rate for all other persons in that same county (Figure 2).

The counties which had the smallest proportions of Spanish-surname population generally had the least differences between Spanish-surname and all other family poverty rates. In addition, there appears to be no significant difference between the S/A ratios for metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties.

Minority Group Concentration and Poverty

From the analysis of comparative poverty among ethnic groups, there appeared to be a relation between the proportion of county population that had Spanish surnames and the level of poverty among Spanish-American families. In order to further determine the existence and significance of this relation, the counties were grouped by levels of Spanish-surname population and the proportion of low-income families in county groups at each level was computed; this information is shown in Table 10.

Figure 2. Ratios of Poverty Among White Spanish-Surname Persons to Poverty Among Persons of All Other Backgrounds (S/A Ratios) by County, 1959.

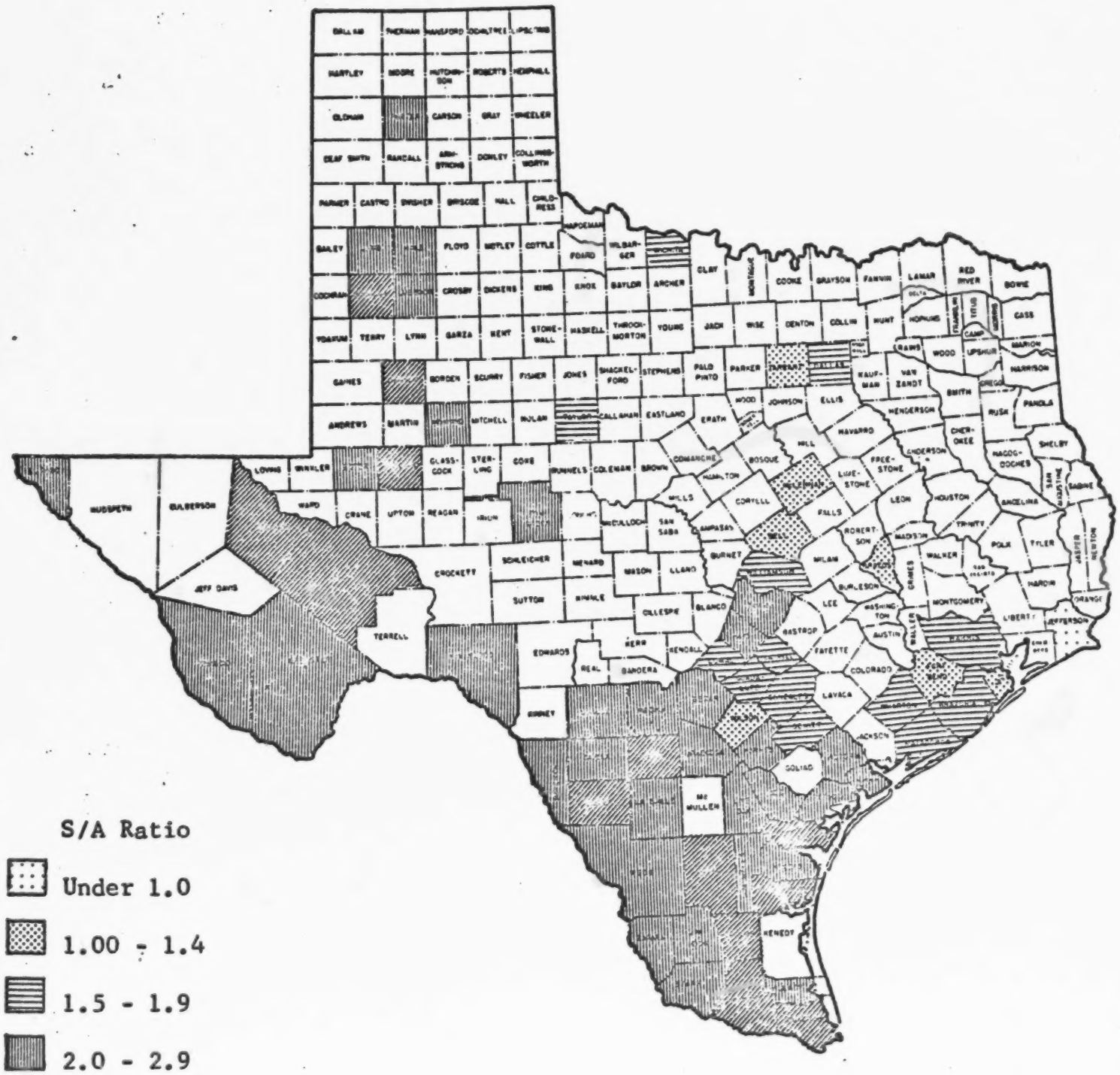

Table 10. Proportion of Spanish-Surname Families and All Other Families with Annual Family Incomes Less than $3000 at Different County Levels of Spanish-Surname Population, Showing S/A Poverty Ratio at Each Level, for Texas, 1959.

Spanish-Surname As Percent of Total Population	Counties in each Level	Family Incomes under $3000		Spanish/ All Others Poverty Ratio
		Spanish-Surname	All Others	
	Number	Percent	Percent	
70 percent or more	8	69.4	24.44	2.84
50 - 69 percent	7	68.3	22.65	3.01
30 - 49 percent	19	46.4	19.87	2.33
10 - 29 percent	19	57.4	26.60	2.16
under 10 percent	14	29.5	18.49	1.59

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Volume 1, Part 45 - Texas, Table 86; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 14.

A marked tendency can be observed for the proportion of Spanish-surname families experiencing poverty to increase as the proportion of Spanish-surname population increases. A slight similar relationship could be observed between the level of Spanish-surname population and the family poverty rates of all other persons. At all levels of Spanish-surname population the family poverty rate of all other persons was significantly below that of Spanish-surname families. The S/A ratios in Table 10 indicate that the difference between the poverty rates of Spanish Americans and all other persons tends to increase with higher concentrations of Spanish-surname population.

In previous sections of this report it was observed that as one moves north and east through Texas, the difference between the

poverty rates of Spanish-American families and all other families lessened--i.e., the county S/A ratios became closer to 1.00.[28] The majority of the Spanish-surname population was concentrated in the southern and western portions of the state and was relatively separate from the heaviest concentrations of the nonwhite population. These findings suggested that the economic deprivation of Spanish Americans in a given location might be related to the relative concentration of nonwhite persons in that same location. To determine whether such a relationship might exist, the counties were grouped by levels of nonwhite population and the proportion of low-income families in county groups at each level was computed (Table 11).

An inverse association can be observed between the level of nonwhite population and the proportion of Spanish-American families living in poverty: As the proportion of nonwhite persons decreases, the rate of poverty among Spanish-American families increases. No similar relationship was observed between the level of nonwhite population and the poverty rate of all other families. And at all the levels of nonwhite population, the poverty rate of Spanish-surname families was significantly above that of all other families as indicated by the S/A ratios in Table 11.

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[28]There are at least two possible explanations for this convergence of the family poverty rates of Spanish Americans and all other persons: (1) as previously observed, the Spanish-American poverty rates tended to be lower in the northern and eastern portions of the state where their proportional representation was generally less; (2) in addition, the northern and eastern areas of Texas tended to have higher family poverty rates for both Anglo-white and nonwhite families.

Table 11. Proportion of Spanish-Surname Families and All Other Families with Annual Family Incomes Less than $3000 at Different County Levels of Nonwhite Population, Showing S/A Poverty Ratio at Each Level, for Texas, 1959.

Nonwhite as Percent of Total Population in County	Counties in each Level	Family Incomes Under $3000		Spanish/ All Others Poverty Ratio
		Spanish-Surname	All Others	
	Number	Percent	Percent	
15 percent or more	10	35.9	20.9	1.72
10 - 14 percent	8	37.8	19.3	1.96
5 - 9 percent	15	45.3	19.2	2.36
2.5 - 5 percent	9	44.7	17.9	2.50
under 2.5 percent	25	68.3	25.0	2.73

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Volume 1, Part 45 - Texas, Tables 86 and 88; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 14.

Summary and Implications

Poverty (as indicated by an annual family income below $3000) has been shown to be abnormally prevalent among Spanish-American Families, especially those in Texas, as compared to Anglo-white families. The poverty rates of Spanish Americans and the rest of the population were similar in that the poverty rates were most severe for families in rural places. Also, a large number of Mexican-American families were experiencing extreme poverty (income below $2000). In addition, on a local basis, the percentage of Spanish-American families with low incomes was higher, the greater the proportion of Spanish Americans in the population.

A number of the findings in this report suggest points to be kept in mind in attempting human and economic development. Most important, perhaps, is to distinguish clearly the proportions of the low-income families in various ethnic groups. In many cases the poor Spanish-surname families may constitute a considerably larger proportion of the low-income population than Spanish Americans are of the total community or county populace. Moreover the larger families of the Spanish Americans mean that in terms of the number of persons, their needs are generally greater than the family unit figures would indicate.

Attention should be called to the educational approach to poverty, since the report shows that there is a clear relation between poverty and low education, and the Spanish Americans are Texas' least educated major group. No real progress is likely to be made unless a way can be found to raise educational levels--a problem which can well be approached at the local level.

Although it is not a focus of this study itself, mention needs to be made of the cultural factors that are likely to impede working with the Mexican Americans. Certain obstacles may require greater effort and a larger expenditure of funds for a given number of Spanish-American families than either white or Negro families would need. In particular, there is the fact that Latin Americans characteristically lack or even avoid participation in the usual formal and voluntary organizations.[29] This means they are hard to work with as groups and

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[29]Rubel, Arthur J. Across the Tracks: Mexican Americans in a Texas City (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), chapter 6.

are likely to have to be faced on a "family-by-family" basis without intervening group contacts. Since the Mexican American is such a significant part of the low-income population of Texas, it is certain that over-all poverty cannot be effectively attacked without a major success among this group.

Selected Current Resource Materials

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Total Number of Low-Income Spanish-Surname Families, and Proportion of Spanish-Surname and All Other Families with Annual Income Less than $3000, Showing S/A Ratios for Texas Counties Enumerating 2,500 or More Persons of Spanish Surname in 1960.

	Total Low-Income Spanish-Surname Families	Percent of Families with Family Incomes less than $3000		Spanish/All Others Poverty Ratio
		Spanish-Surname	All Others	
	Number			
Dimmit*	1,004	83.0	26.2	3.16
Karnes	843	82.4	40.3	2.04
Zavala*	1,318	82.4	28.6	2.88
Gonzales	567	81.9	50.4	1.63
Frio*	963	80.7	23.2	3.47
Caldwell	713	80.2	42.3	1.90
LaSalle*	616	80.1	34.5	2.32
DeWitt	591	80.1	51.4	1.56
Starr*	2,249	76.8	33.0	2.33
Zapata*	503	75.5	37.9	1.99
Jim Hogg*	632	73.0	27.0	2.70
Williamson	661	73.0	45.9	1.59
San Patricio*	2,767	72.2	23.0	3.14
Hidalgo*	16,233	72.0	24.4	2.96
Hockley	425	72.0	23.7	3.04
Live Oak	346	71.9	34.7	2.07
Atacosa*	1,144	71.3	34.1	2.09
Hays	924	71.1	33.2	2.14
Willacy*	1,675	71.1	24.7	2.88
Hale	741	70.4	25.2	2.79
Bee*	1,158	69.6	26.7	2.61
Lamb	403	69.5	30.9	2.25
Medina	902	68.8	30.6	2.25
Refugio*	482	68.3	24.4	2.80
Maverick*	1,147	68.0	31.9	2.13
Cameron*	11,741	66.7	22.4	2.98
Brooks*	851	66.1	14.0	4.74
Dawson	506	66.0	20.7	3.18
Duval*	1,400	65.9	20.4	3.23
Guadalupe	846	63.9	35.6	1.80

APPENDIX A continued

County	Total Low-Income Spanish-Surname Families	Percent of Families with Family Incomes less than $3000		Spanish/All Others Poverty Ratio
		Spanish-Surname	All Others	
	Number			
Jim Wells*	2,892	63.4	21.7	2.92
Kleberg*	1,509	62.4	20.0	3.11
Wharton	638	62.0	40.6	1.53
Brewster*	297	61.5	22.3	2.76
Wilson	616	61.1	46.0	1.33
Val Verde*	1,355	61.0	21.6	2.82
Victoria	1,229	60.4	24.3	2.48
Uvalde*	921	60.0	30.4	1.97
Webb*	6,111	59.8	20.4	2.94
Presidio*	315	58.2	22.3	2.61
Tom Green	990	57.9	25.0	2.32
Reeves*	691	56.6	17.0	3.34
Matagorda	357	56.0	36.1	1.55
Pecos*	369	52.6	13.6	3.88
Fort Bend	808	52.4	35.7	1.47
Calhoun	379	50.9	19.8	2.57
Nueces*	8,134	50.5	18.2	2.77
Lubbock	1,381	47.7	17.7	2.69
Brazos	315	47.4	35.8	1.32
Travis	2,169	46.1	22.6	2.04
Howard	342	44.8	16.7	2.69
Bexar*	21,458	42.4	19.9	2.13
McLennan	653	41.7	29.3	1.43
Midland	337	40.3	11.7	3.44
Bell	488	39.5	31.5	1.26
Comal	372	37.3	23.7	1.57
Taylor	357	36.5	20.4	1.80
El Paso*	9,374	35.0	14.0	2.50
Brazoria	344	34.3	19.5	1.76
Ector	455	33.6	13.0	2.57

APPENDIX A continued

County	Total Low-Income Spanish-Surname Families	Percent of Families with Family Incomes less than $3000		Spanish/All Others Poverty Ratio
		Spanish-Surname	All Others	
	Number			
Wichita	219	33.3	19.4	1.71
Potter	246	31.5	15.6	2.02
Galveston	768	30.5	22.6	1.35
Harris	4,280	28.4	17.6	1.62
Dallas	1,833	27.3	16.0	1.70
Tarrant	981	22.8	18.6	1.23
Jefferson	264	17.6	20.0	0.88

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Part 45 - Texas, Table 86; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 14.

*Those counties in which total low-income families were predominantly Spanish-surname families.

APPENDIX B

Number of Spanish-Surname Families and Number and Proportion of Spanish-Surname Families at $2000 and $3000 Income Levels for Urban Places of Texas, 1959.

Urban Places*	Spanish-Surname Families				
	Total	Incomes Under $2000		Incomes Under $3000	
	Number	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Abilene	869	173	19.9	303	34.9
Alice	2,276	810	35.6	1,263	55.5
Amarillo	797	122	15.3	241	30.2
Austin	4,339	1,014	23.4	1,936	44.6
Beeville	1,250	550	44.0	849	67.9
Big Spring	652	148	22.7	278	42.6
Brownsville	6,725	2,842	42.3	4,198	62.4
Bryan	544	170	31.2	264	48.5
Corpus Christi	11,816	2,965	25.1	5,234	44.3
Dallas	6,046	805	13.3	1,736	28.7
Del Rio	2,115	853	40.3	1,300	61.5
Eagle Pass	1,996	959	48.0	1,338	67.0
Edinburg	2,363	1,007	42.6	1,612	68.2
El Paso	24,818	4,263	17.2	8,360	33.7
Fort Worth	3,572	489	13.7	890	24.9
Galveston	1,696	315	18.6	527	31.1
Harlingen	3,791	1,344	35.4	2,251	59.4
Houston	12,730	1,959	15.4	3,682	28.9
Kingsville	2,127	820	38.6	1,266	59.5
Laredo	9,874	4,187	42.4	5,869	59.4
Lubbock	2,010	402	20.0	837	41.6
McAllen	3,799	1,327	34.9	2,273	59.8
Mercedes	1,662	844	50.8	1,176	70.8
Midland	765	145	19.0	299	39.1
Mission	1,928	783	40.6	1,263	65.5
New Braunfels	905	176	19.4	320	35.4
Odessa	1,194	174	14.6	379	31.7
Pecos	783	238	30.4	424	54.2
Pharr	1,763	945	53.6	1,337	75.8
Port Arthur	713	68	9.5	127	17.8
San Angelo	1,604	524	32.7	917	57.2
San Antonio	48,177	11,615	24.1	20,248	42.0

APPENDIX B continued

Urban Places*	Total	Spanish-Surname Families			
		Incomes Under $2000		Incomes Under $300	
	Number	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
San Benito	2,147	961	44.3	1,449	67.5
San Marcos	992	418	42.1	656	66.1
Seguin	906	314	34.6	563	62.1
Uvalde	1,014	285	28.1	598	59.0
Victoria	1,384	412	29.8	788	56.9
Waco	1,159	174	15.0	430	37.1
Weslaco	2,041	1,091	53.4	1,553	76.1
Wichita Falls	611	105	17.2	201	32.9

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 13.

*Those enumerating 2,500 or more persons of Spanish surname in 1960.

APPENDIX C

Number of Spanish-Surname Families and Number and Proportion of Spanish-Surname Families at $2000 and $3000 Income Levels for Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of Texas, 1959.

SMSA's	Total	Spanish-Surname Families			
		Incomes Under $2000		Incomes Under $3000	
	Number	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Abilene	1,275	318	24.9	554	43.5
Amarillo	858	127	14.8	250	29.1
Austin	4,708	1,140	24.2	2,169	46.1
Beaumont-Port Arthur*	1,495	152	10.2	264	17.6
Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito	17,590	8,033	45.7	11,741	66.7
Corpus Christi	16,109	5,021	31.2	8,134	50.5
Dallas**	6,704	873	13.0	1,833	27.3
El Paso	26,797	4,857	18.1	9,374	35.0
Fort Worth***	4,304	527	12.2	981	22.8
Galveston-Texas City	2,520	442	17.5	768	30.5
Houston	15,060	2,273	15.1	4,280	28.4
Laredo	10,215	4,366	42.7	6,111	59.8
Lubbock	2,897	670	23.1	1,381	47.7
Midland	837	159	19.0	337	40.3
Odessa	1,356	227	16.7	455	33.6
San Angelo	1,709	565	33.1	990	57.9
San Antonio	50,579	12,352	24.4	21,458	42.4
Waco	1,566	316	20.2	653	41.7
Wichita Falls	678	125	18.4	224	33.0

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Tables 13 and 14.

*Family and family income data available for Jefferson County only.

**Family and family income data available for Dallas County only.

***Family and family income data available for Tarrant County only.

APPENDIX D

Proportion of Spanish-Surname and All Other Families with Annual Incomes less than $2000, Showing S/A Ratios of Extreme Poverty for Texas Counties Enumerating 2,500 or more Persons of Spanish Surname in 1960.

County	Percent of Families with Family Incomes Under $2000		Spanish/All Others Ratio of Extreme Poverty
	Spanish-Surname	All Others	
Zapata	67.7	23.9	2.84
Starr	63.4	23.5	2.70
LaSalle	62.9	23.1	2.73
Frio	62.1	15.9	3.90
Karnes	60.7	27.0	2.25
Dimmit	60.3	13.1	4.60
Zavala	58.1	17.6	3.30
Gonzales	57.9	35.1	1.65
Caldwell	54.9	27.2	2.02
De Witt	54.9	36.7	1.49
Jim Hogg	53.0	13.7	3.88
Live Oak	51.1	22.5	2.27
San Patricio	50.9	14.6	3.48
Willacy	50.8	13.3	3.82
Hidalgo	49.4	15.1	3.27
Maverick	49.1	20.1	2.44
Atascosa	47.9	22.7	2.11
Brooks	47.8	6.2	7.73
Duval	47.2	10.7	4.39
Bee	46.1	16.8	2.74
Wilson	45.7	34.1	1.34
Medina	45.7	19.7	2.32
Cameron	45.7	13.5	3.38
Williamson	44.6	31.1	1.43
Hays	44.5	21.8	2.04
Refugio	44.3	16.3	2.72
Jim Wells	42.8	13.1	3.26
Webb	42.7	11.3	3.79
Kleberg	41.2	11.2	3.67
Presidio	40.8	14.0	2.91

APPENDIX D continued

County	Percent of Families with Family Incomes Under $2000		Spanish/All Others Ratio of Extreme Poverty
	Spanish-Surname	All Others	
Tarrant	12.2	10.6	1.15
Jefferson	10.2	12.3	.83

Source: Compiles and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Part 45 - Texas, Table 86; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 14.

APPENDIX D continued

County	Percent of Families with Family Incomes Under $2000		Spanish/All Others Ratio of Extreme Poverty
	Spanish-Surname	All Others	
Val Verde	39.9	8.9	4.49
Wharton	39.8	27.1	1.47
Hale	38.9	14.0	2.78
Dawson	37.9	11.2	3.38
Guadalupe	37.9	21.8	1.73
Matagorda	37.7	25.8	1.46
Brewster	37.5	10.6	3.54
Lamb	36.6	17.3	2.12
Victoria	35.2	15.0	2.34
Hockley	34.1	13.2	2.57
Uvalde	33.9	20.1	1.69
Fort Bend	33.7	24.4	1.38
Tom Green	33.1	14.3	2.31
Calhoun	32.8	13.0	2.52
Brazos	32.1	23.3	1.38
Reeves	31.3	9.3	3.36
Nueces	31.2	11.5	2.70
Pecos	29.5	7.6	3.90
Howard	24.9	8.3	3.01
Bexar	24.4	11.0	2.23
Travis	24.2	12.2	1.99
Lubbock	23.1	10.0	2.30
Bell	22.4	18.7	1.20
Comal	22.0	13.2	1.67
Taylor	20.7	10.8	1.91
Brazoria	20.3	12.0	1.70
McLennan	20.2	17.9	1.13
Midland	19.0	6.6	2.87
Wichita	18.3	10.7	1.70
El Paso	18.0	7.1	2.54
Galveston	17.5	13.7	1.28
Ector	16.7	7.6	2.21
Potter	16.3	7.7	2.12
Harris	15.1	10.4	1.46
Dallas	13.1	9.1	1.43

APPENDIX D continued

County	Percent of Families with Family Incomes Under $2000		Spanish/All Others Ratio of Extreme Poverty
	Spanish-Surname	All Others	
Tarrant	12.2	10.6	1.15
Jefferson	10.2	12.3	.83

Source: Compiles and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Part 45 - Texas, Table 86; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, Table 14.